have been many changes. Raven, the culture hero, taught the early settlers many useful arts, and they were themselves so powerful that they were able to create ceremonial and other prerogatives in a manner impossible to their descendants. Moreover, the people realize that they have been influenced by neighbouring tribes since that time, but in spite of these additions, they believe that their life is patterned on that of their earliest forbears.

As a group, the Bella Coola are philosophers. They demand a reason for everything, though once a reason has been given, and accepted, they think no more about the matter. The elaboration of Bella Coola mythology may be due in part to their desire to explain their social organization; but without question these myths, now accepted as facts, have had a great influence on the lives of the people. In fact the social structure of the tribe has tended to conform to the myths.

It is believed that each group of first people formed a village community, and pre-empted hunting-grounds in the vicinity. These usually consisted of small valleys opening from the main Bella Coola River, tracts which could thus be easily defined. Each group also took possession of a suitable part of the river for a salmon-weir, or, if located on the coast, a convenient place for an ocean fish-trap. In course of time the first people married, of necessity with members of other villages. According to mythology, and equally according to modern practice, the women usually moved to the villages of their husbands. When a child was born, it naturally grew up to share in the hunting-grounds of its father's village. Moreover, the father was able to bestow on his child various ceremonial dances; the concepts of some he had brought with him from above, others he had formulated on this earth. It is assumed that all the first people were mighty chiefs, able to initiate rites in a way that few modern men have been able to equal. But the mothers of these children, the first born on this earth, did not surrender the privileges of their own villages at marriage. Consequently, their children were of almost as much interest to the brothers

thus learnt that she has three sets of teeth, but as the practice has not found favour in Bella Coola, it is little to her advantage.*

These complicated marriage rites are necessary to satisfy the pride of the two families in their origin myths, and the need to establish the resultant children in the paths of their ancestors. Among slaves or others who lack ancestral prerogatives, marriage is an affair of slight worth. Such persons simply live together with little ceremony, though they always try to give at least a feast so that there may be witnesses of the transaction. It is immaterial whether or not they marry their own relatives, since no ancestral prerogatives are to be transmitted.

MARRIED LIFE

Y usually lives in the house of X's father, though economic circumstances may compel her husband to live in her home. If the parents are very wealthy, a house may be built for the young people, but usually their home is one of the bedrooms in the house of X's father; this patrilocal residence exposes Y not only to good advice from her mother-in-law, but often to caustic criticism. The married life of X and Y does not differ materially from that of other young couples in any part of the world, and is accordingly difficult to describe. Although love rarely enters into the original choice of a mate, a serviceable substitute is found in the mutual respect for each other's ancestry, and the knowledge of the importance of the rites performed with the aid of each other's elderly relatives. The young people realize that marriage affects the families of both, and accordingly accept it as a matter of course. The Bella Coola are fond of children. Their birth is a matter of sincere rejoicing, partly because it binds the two families more closely together, but parental affection is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics. The parents usually spoil their children; infants, especially, are never chastised and rarely

*The board used on this occasion was purchased for the National Museum of Canada, Ottawa.

Where all hope has been abandoned, they are summoned and the relatives complete the ceremony, doing only that part of it left undone by the original recipient of the call. The principle in the same as that described when a novice dies, that someone must finish the rite. This aspect of the *kwakiut* ceremonial is still preserved ceremonially as the writer found to his cost. It was proposed that he be formally initiated into the society, but this was not allowed on the ground that he would not be present the following winter to complete the rites commenced by the coming of the call.

The Fires Rise

The commencement of the *kwakiut* season is regulated by the coming of *Nuakyum*, but its conclusion is a matter of arrangement. By February the number of *kokwaiut* wishing to dance has become negligible and the marshals decide to terminate the ceremonial season. It must be remembered that an enclosure has been built in every house where an important *kwakiut* dance has taken place, and that so long as these are in existence the uninitiated have not been allowed to live in these houses. The social life of the community has accordingly been profoundly disturbed. Of course several dances may have taken place in a single dwelling, but even allowing for that, the fact remains that the uninitiated have been forced to dwell temporarily in perhaps only one or two houses. The most obvious mark of the end of the ceremonial season is the destruction of these enclosures.

A few nights after the last *nakwam*, the heralds summon the *kokwaiut* to the house in which it took place. They sit down but the usual drooning is omitted. Presently sticks are distributed and one of the singers takes his place to lead in the customary frenzied beating. But before he raises his baton, one of the marshals, or another *kwakiut* with ability in that respect, steps to the centre of the house and spits noisily in all directions, his aim being to deluge the house and spectators with a spray of saliva. Then the singer leads the beating of

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expressed the opinion that the whole affair was a stupid blunder.

The Bella Coola state that long, long ago the usual outcome of friction between *a'alk* and *kukusiut* was the incorporation of members of the former society into the latter like any other uninitiated. The following account of an incident of this kind was obtained from a Kimsquit man who regarded it as historically accurate.

Some five hundred years after the first settlement of this earth, the members of the two societies used to live amicably together during the summer, which was not surprising considering that both contained members of the same families. But during the winter the *kukusiut* all gathered in a village on the Dean River for their dances, while the *a'alk* also performed at the same season in the village of *Tpalkoā*, opposite the present Manitou Cannery below Kimsquit.[a] There was considerable jealousy between the two organizations, and the members were always seeking an opportunity to deride and ridicule their rivals. A Cannibal dance had been given by the *kukusiut* and the *a'alk*, who were present as uninitiated guests, had watched with wonder the disappearance of the performer into the mysterious realms above. But a few days later, *Xamxamkaix*, a chief and leader in one of the *a'alk* dances, happened to be in a lonely part of the forest where he was amazed to meet the Cannibal. The latter, confident of his supernatural power, spoke:

"In meeting me today you have met disaster, you will soon be a corpse."

Xamxamkaix, a middle-aged man of powerful physique, was not impressed by the other's powers, whether physical or supernatural.

"No," he answered. "It is you who have fallen into trouble. You are old and feeble and if you try to injure me it will be the worse for you."

"My age has nothing to do with it," reiterated the Cannibal. "You have met me and will die."

At this juncture two of the Cannibal's guardian-companions appeared, but *Xamxamkaix* still did not fear because they were both old and unarmed, whereas he had an axe. But when two more *kukusiut* appeared,

[a] This Kimsquit informant stated that long ago a similar segregation of *a'alk* into one village and *kukusiut* into another took place in Bella Coola. Bella Coola informants knew nothing of this. The expulsion of the uninitiated from houses in which *kusiut* dances are taking place leads to a division of the village, and it is easy to understand how two sections could have been created without definite intention. This would hardly account for a separation into two villages and no explanation for the statement is offered.

words of Kwakiutl derivation will become clear by a glance at the following list, which contains words that can be proved to be of Kwakiutl origin:—

[illegible]

With these names and customs the clan traditions must have found their way to the Bella Coola, but their social organization differed fundamentally from that of the Bella Bella branch of the Kwakiutl. While the latter, owing to intimate contact with the northern tribes, had adopted the four-class system with prevalent maternal descent, the Bella Coola were still distinctly divided into village communities that were not exogamic. It seems very likely that the jealousy with which the ownership of a clan tradition was guarded by the Coast tribes was very early introduced among the Bella Coola. Two means were available for preventing outsiders from acquiring the traditions. Among the Coast tribes with prevailing maternal institutions, among whom a limited number of clans existed, the ordinary law of inheritance was sufficient to retain the tradition inside of the clan. Not so among the Bella Coola. If their organization at an early time was similar to that of the Coast Salish, it is likely that the child was counted as well a member of the father's as of the mother's family, although the young woman generally moved to the village occupied by her husband. If the child belonged to the families of both parents, it had the right to use the tradition of either family; and consequently in the course of a few generations, the traditions acquired by each family would have spread practically over the whole tribe. There were only two methods possible to avoid this result. The one was to prevent marriages outside the village community; and this method would seem to have been most natural for a tribe organized in village communities, members of which were allowed to intermarry. The other method would have been to regulate the laws of inheritance in such a way that the child had to